103 The place names are usually connected with either prominent landmarks of the natural environment, objects, events, experiences, or characteristics of the inhabitants. Thus, we have the following names.

(a) From palm trees..

103
824 1. Niescham from a nī = lay, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm, that is to say, the village is located where there are raffia palms, the most important plant for house construction.

2. Mabāscham from a bē = follow, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm.

3. Makoda from akōda (plural, makōda) = swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii, Mann et Wendl., used like raffia for house construction.

4. Nkan from nkān(e) = Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc., climbing palm, used for plaiting.

5. Mekan, the same, plural.

6. Nsamenkan from žǎm (nžǎm) = swamp, swamp of the climbing palm Ancistrophyllum.

7. Alen from alěn = oil palm.

8. Malen, the same, plural

(b) From cultivated plants.

9. Matumabai from atū́ (plural, matū́) = taro, Colocasia antiquorum (L.) Schott, and mabai = two; thus, two taros. /52/

10. Bekaba from ekába (plural, bekába) = Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.

11. Emäangon from a mê ngôn = scatter ngon /a squashlike ground fruit/, that is, for drying in the village square.

(c) From edible wild fruit or fruit trees.

12. Essun from esŭn = fruit of the cardamom, Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch.

13. Madschab from madžăb - oil from Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.

14. Fan from fǎ́ne = fruit of the Anacardiacea Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ́ne).

15. Abe from abě = kola nut and tree, Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.).

16. Andok from andǒk = Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubaceae. Mandok.
17. Nkoandok from nkŏk = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Irvingia.
18. Ngong from ngǒṅ IV = fruit of the Trichoscypha sp. (engǒṅ).
19. Alöb from alǒb = Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (Simarubaceae).
20. Mangame from mangǎme III = Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (Moraceae), perhaps also the symbol of agreement, taken from syncarp.

(d) Derived from other trees.

21. Akak from akǎk = Leptonychia tessmannii Engl., Sterculiacea, the tree of peace, the peace linden.
22. Makak, the same, plural.
23. Nkomakak or Nkolemakak from nkō[l] = hill, that is, hill of Leptonychia trees (makak).
24. Abang (Abanga) from abǎṅ = species of Ficus, particularly used in the manufacture of bark cloth.
25. Mabang (Mabanga), the same, plural.
26. Akam from akǎm = several species of large Ficus, for instance, F. preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., striking trees used for the manufacture of cloth.
27. Ajo, Jusch (Ajusch) from ayǔš = Triplochiton tessmannii, used especially for the manufacture of house coverings.
28. Majo (Majusch), the same, plural.
29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo, from nko[l] = hill of Triplochiton.
30. Owõng from ovǒṅ = Copaifera tessmannii Harms, famous spirit tree, largest tree of the Fang region.
31. Awõngabai, two Copaifera (abai = two).

31a. Ndschiowõng from ndzěi = bridge, bridge of Copaifera.

32. Elun from elǔn = Erythrophloeum guineense Don. (Leguminosae), striking because of its red bark, a poisonous tree.
33. Belun, plural.
34. Ejen (Elibengang) from ejěn, eli beṅgǎṅ = Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill., striking because of its beautiful violet-red bark; a medicine tree.

103 824
35. Andung from andū̧ñ = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.
36. Akom from akǒ́m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/
37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.
38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.
39. Engo from engṓ, an unidentified tree.
40. Akoga from akǒ́ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.
41. Makoga, the same, plural.
42. Assam from asǎ́m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.
43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.
44. Angok from angǒ́k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.
45. Dum from du̧m = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.
46. Medschimitum from mdežī = roots, and tǔm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.
47. Asseng or Assöng from asǒ́ñ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.
48. Massöng, the same, plural.
49. Nkoassöng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823
50. Ngbai from ngbǎ̧ī́ = leafless living tree (its winter condition).
51. Mekumu from nkū̧m I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.
52. Ndangöng from ndǎngǒ́n = clearing.
53. Ewüöle from eyṻǒ́le = clearing.
54. Nko from nkǒ́ = hill.
55. Anko = at the hill.
56. Akok from akō̤k = stone, rock.
57. Makok, the same, plural.
58. Maschok from mažǒk = rapids, falls.

(f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

103 825
59. Schok from žǫ̌k = elephant.

344 that holds together the rafter ends. A less common procedure is to place brackets diagonally on top of the rafters and fasten the mats to them. Finally the ridgepoles itself is covered. For this purpose two roofing mats (obū́t, elắt-ésē i) h are sewed together at their upper edges and are placed as the topmost layer /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text/ over the ridgepole. For protection, a special ridgepole mat (ngǔ́m IV) i is placed on top of the other mats; it consists of a mat bent in the middle which is clamped to the double mat by means of pegs made of the bark of raffia stalks l.

In those areas where there is no raffia, rafters are made from the leafstalks of oil palms (as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/) or from little tree trunks. /Fig. 23 appears here in original text/ /63/ In [124] place of mats, the leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. (okĩăikũi) -- see Plate 11 -- and of the swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii Mann et Wendl. (akṓda), are used, as well as banana leaves to cover the gaps. This substitute for mats is not very durable and is laborious to manufacture since roof laths are continually needed to fasten down the leaves and it is necessary to place Aframomum stalks very closely together from the ridgepole to the edge of the roof; otherwise, the leaves either stretch or are blown off. The durability of a roof covered with swamp palm leaves is so limited that it stays in good condition for only a year, as the people told me, whereas a mat roof holds out for five years before repairs become necessary. /Fig. 24 appears here in the original text./ A roof covered with Sarcophrynium leaves, moreover, looks quite unattractive, especially from the inside where the leaf stems which are cut off near the blade extend into the house.

Once the roof is completed, work on the side walls begins. The material for these is the bark of certain trees whose names are mentioned in the discussion of bark crafts (Section 8, page 213), the leaves of swamp palms and Sarcophrynium, both of which are used more often for the gable walls, and finally strips of raffia pith and mats. The latter, however, are used only sparingly here because of their many small spikes.

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

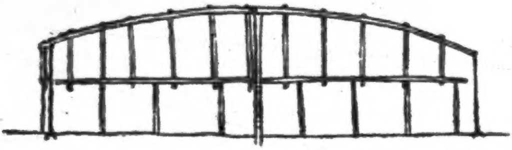

Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebai) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces
[584] and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloń I =
● [824] Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

[438] 1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atū[k]e ndžik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

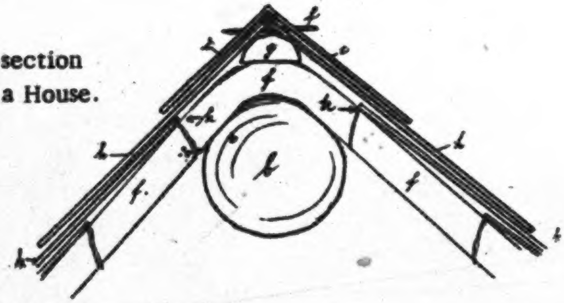

Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.

344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of ● [324] the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kŭ́dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enŏ́n) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkŏ́nŏk) with pointed pins (c = mbĕn -ak. I Fang, ojĕn Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = ojĕmḗja-enŏ́n) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kŭ́dū -enŏ́n III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = ajĕ́gebĕ -enŏ́n), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

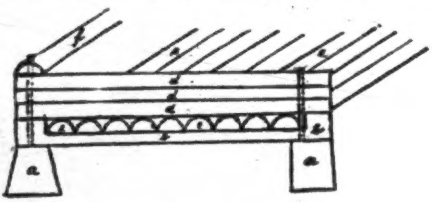

Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

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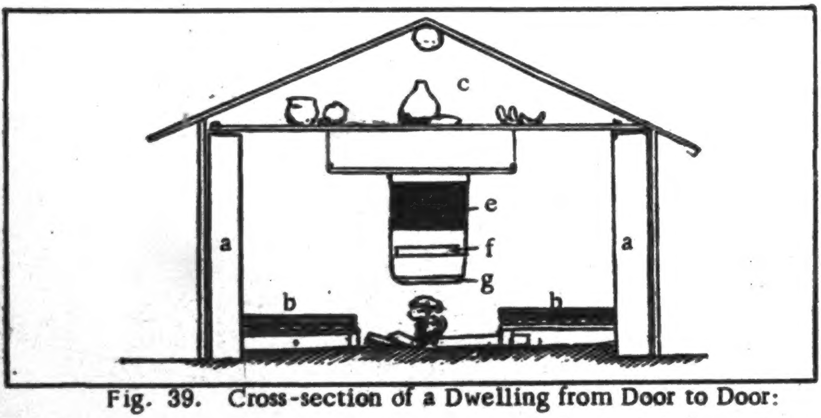
352
353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. 412 356 It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square.

For the house a broom evū̃ǎ[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., [824]● Leguminosae, called ntǔ̃′ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text./ /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck 137 824 by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant



[342 353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

137
824 for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andżīm), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, zǎm = swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

[352
531]

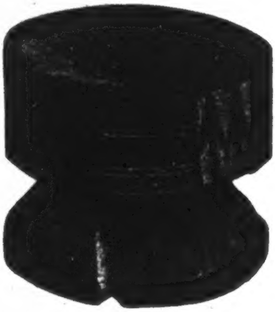


Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nia dšǎṅ = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (akṓdō), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dšǎ-ṅ, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dža (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses. 824

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

●824

II. Spices

3. Salt (from the leaves and stalks, together with other plants; see Section 6, p. 133).

III. Oils

4. Hair oil (from the pulp; see Section 7, page 193).

IV. Building Materials

A. Leaf pinnae.

5. Mats (ešē̦i) for the roof.

B. Whole leaves.

6. Plaited fences around the cult sites.

C. Whole leafstalks.

7. Molding beams (mfắs I).
8. Rafters (ntū̆ǵn I).

D. Halved leafstalks.

9. Sleeping and sitting benches (kū́dū III and enŏń).
10. Longitudinal strips for house walls (ebā́ẹ̆ă Nt., ebāăk F.)

E. Pith.

11. House walls. /77/ /Fig. 41 appears here in the original text/

V. Household Implements

12. Groundnuts baskets (angū̦n), made of pith.
13. Drying boards (etăṅ), made of the bark of leafstalks; the frame, of pith.
14. Drying lofts (akăń).
15. Bowls for red wood.
16. Combs (made of pieces of stalk bark).
17. Brooms (made of leaves).
18. Corks for powder flasks and for bamboo drinking reeds (pith).
19. Nails, for joining together the pith.
20. Plantain peelers (piece of bark).
21. Ropes for basketwork plates (medullary rays).
22. Needles for taking out sand fleas (bark).
23. Sticks for incising the surface of pottery jugs; furthermore, awls for piercing the nose (bark).

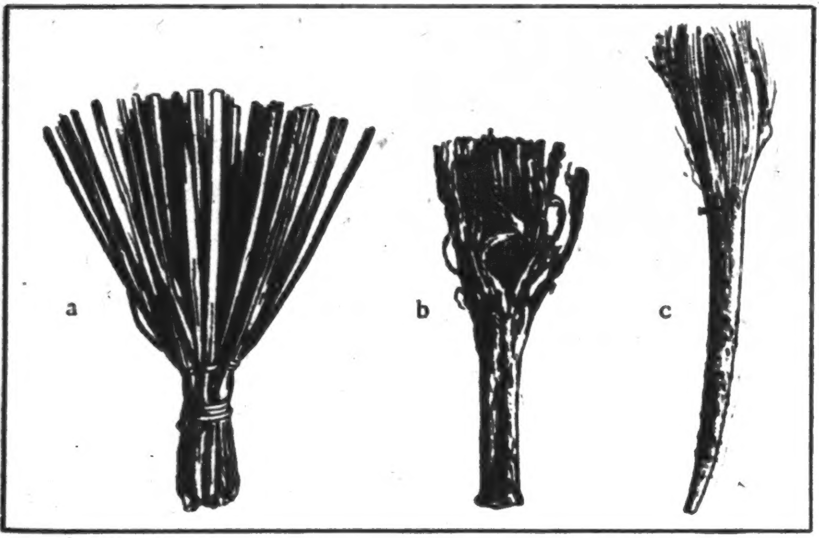


Fig. 41. Sweepers:
a, brooms for dwellings; b and c, dusters for meeting houses.

24. Knife sheathes (pith).
25. Sticks for preparing the clay blast pipe (stalks).
26. Casting molds for founding brass rings (halved stems).
27. Kindling, ekă'ba (stalk strips).
28. Ropes (bast).
29. Pipe bowls (made of the fruit kernels); see Section 6, page 164.
30. Needles, sewing needles (pith).
31. Fire fans (pith).

VI. Trapping Implements, Weapons

32. Fish baskets, ayắ', ngŏdĕgo, nsŏn.
33. Fish weirs, olă'm.
34. Noose for spring traps (fiber).
35. Bow trap of the Jaunde for rats (ebā'dĕ).
36. "Spears" against sorcery.

VII. Musical Instruments

37. Raffia instrument, myŏt (made of the stalks).
38. Guitar, ndŏnga (made of the pith, the bridge of stalk strips).

824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, elĕ̱́m (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, ngŏ́mo (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, nkū̆ (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, nkŭk endĕ̱́ lĕ́ (pith).
52. Stone game, akŭ̄n (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, edŏbăn (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, akū̆t (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of Raphia hookeri M. (esa).

343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; [177] others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied from the European models; still others, like the temporary

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, 372 which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, 354 the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, [113] it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndūǎn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, [192] the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch 373 light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks [824] of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǒm; stalk, kô'mō IV Fang, kǔū'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekǎ'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivi- 373 354 824 314 ties or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum, obê Fang; resin = otǔ).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

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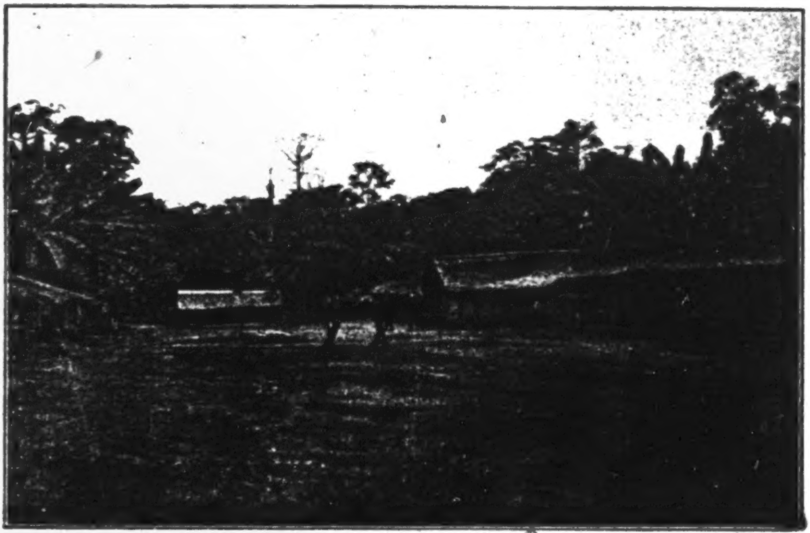

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obè Fang; resin = otù).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches [824] that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/ /Fig. 45 appears here in the original text./

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. In former times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays 372 the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner 824 by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

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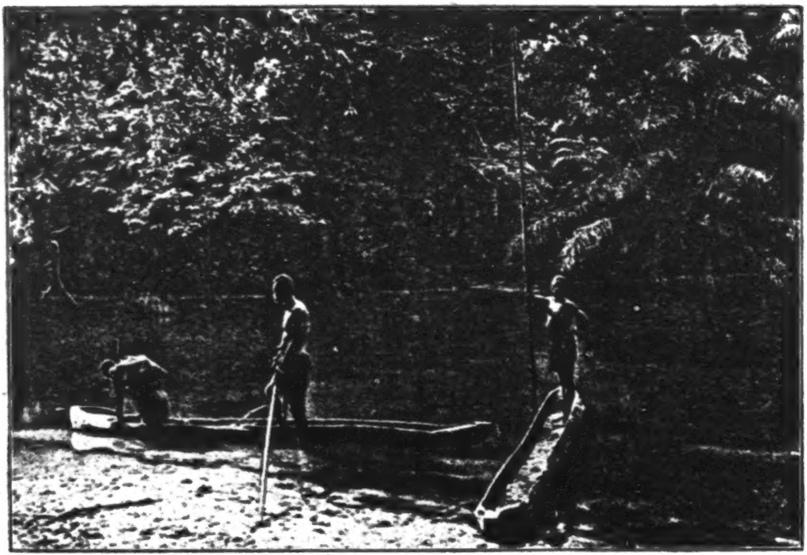

Fig. 45. Canoes on the Nië (Tributary of the Campo), New Cameroons.

372 knew exactly how to produce sparks. "One" takes two sticks of ●824 wood from one of the three Tiliaceae, *Triumfettia cordifolia* Guillet (*oküṅ*) (1). *Leptonychia tessmannii* Engl. (*akăk*), or *Desplatsia dewevrei* Burs. (*afŏnŏk*), and they are dried over the fire for at least a day. One of the sticks is notched in the middle, placed on the ground, and held down with one's feet; the other stick is placed vertically into the notch and twirled. The spark which is "supposed" to be produced is caught with oakum made of the picked fibers of the *Dioclea reflexa* Hook. f. (*kŏndōō*´ III) placed around the notch. Thus instructed, after this one failure I requested elsewhere that this theory be put into practice, but most of the natives assumed a stupid expression or laughed outright at my request. /82/ /Fig. 46 appears here in the original text./

1. According to one legend, fire is also supposed to have been brought from the heavens in a *Triumfettia* stick.

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zŏfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
● 824] wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayá'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the
[822] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844
834] 1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (avĭle)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

244 789 [824] Another fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark of the Simarubacea *Irvingia barteri* Hook. f. (*andŏk*; 2) bark bark of the Anacardiacea *Pseudospondias microcarpa* (Rich.) Engl. (*ofŏs*); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power: the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains [824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (*ayăn*) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

244 The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Drawings *a* and *b*, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with [195] them. This is called euphemistically: *bi kī kăbăd*, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe, [252] especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The [257] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, *akăn owŭnŏ*.

433 435 244 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 130 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, *Cercopithecus buccalis* Leconte (*osǒ́k*), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, *Maimon planirostris* Elliot (*esiǵe*); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are *Sciurus eborivorus* Du Chaillu (*mvǫk*) and *Sciurus lemniscatus* Leconte (*osǒ́n*); among the mice, the worst pest is *Dendromys messorius* Thomas (*njaa*); and there are also other species, such as *Mus pusillulus* Ptrs. (*okǒb*). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (*nkǒ́k*) eats the leaves. Fruit 244 789 rot (*ntũ̄í ngǒn*, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, *ba-aya*, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another pro- 244
789 cedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called *emiĕ ndǒb*, that is, squirting
●824 of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

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824

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abuī), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abui from abuī, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angṓnengṓne III, angṓngṓne = assimilated, angṓngōno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owūwǔmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wǔmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andǘn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pfǎžǒk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

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The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Mekang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

244 834 Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The 244 252 ●[824] kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f., Euphorbiaceae (obīmyŏ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

524 In conclusion, patient reader, kắndǎṅ (guess a riddle!); kǎndắṅ (I guess):

akŏ́n	afǫ̆′,	e	mane	nkū́na	ngūī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-	swine.

Answer:

okŏk	ofǫ̆′,	e	mane	džǎd	e	ngǫ̂n
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andḗă); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvū̦i). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: žǫ̆′ǭ III Ntum, dzǫ̆ (plural, bīŏ′) Fang; and ebǫ̆′zǭǭ. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekǭ′da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alŏ́k), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

245 [177] mentăngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etắt, from the stem a tắt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dŭgŭ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. 244 ●824 Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (abṓk), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [833] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tĕ́gĕ III - fruit, etĕ́tăm) are planted. The name is derived from a tĕk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etĕ́tam from a tĕbĕ etắm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tĕge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbắbelŏ́mo IV). The name esắn includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engā́ne-esắn), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebŭbŭ́dŏ́-es), and the Melastomatacea Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Trian. (esisắn-bongṓn-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.
Other cultivated plants are the following.

231

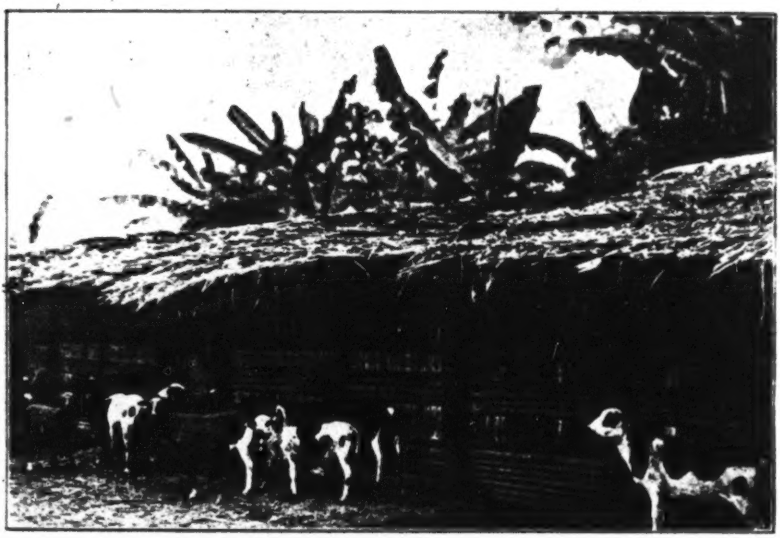

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanâm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where thare are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tũb miak - to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏngŏn) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278 the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atũ̄ ī h), pre- 824] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (nsŏŋ I) and ordinary baskets (nkŏɛ́ I), poisoning fish (ngų̆m IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lų̆k (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dž̆ăɗ), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [824] tied to a stalk from the pliant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkŏmonkŏ́mo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

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857

3. *Children's angling* (*ngɔ̆k* *IV*)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Aracea *Rhectophyllum mirabile* N.E. Brown (*ndé's* IV, *klḗs* IV). [324

227

4. Fishing tackle (*nlɔ̆́b* I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; their hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (*ekɛ̆le* *nlɔ̆'b*, *elŭṅ* *nlɔ̆́b*

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

226

6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

224 The most profitable and hence most frequently used spring trap for wild animals is the *osąb*, which is set up in conjunction with a game fence. It is illustrated in Figure 70, Drawings 1 and 2. The fence frequently extends through the whole wooded area, usually along the paths. It has various openings and consists of sticks driven into the ground side by side. The sticks are either placed very close together or at longer intervals, and then they 224 are intertwined with leaves of *Sarcophrynium velutinum* (*okiaikui*), raffia palm, or swamp palm. As a result, the majority of smaller animals have to run along the fence and can find no way out other than through these openings. At these points the actual traps are constructed. A corridor is erected at right angles to the fence by driving into the ground two rows of sticks (*i*) closely adjoining each other. The end one or one of the end ones (in the illustration the one on the left-hand side) is forked at the top. Inside the corridor a tree trunk (*g*) is placed in such a way that one end lies on the ground and the other end -- weighted by other trunks (*h*) -- is held suspended by a lever (*e*) resting on the forked stick (*k*). In turn, the lever (*e*) is held by a trigger device which is a uniform feature of all trap and draw springs and hence will be described here once and for all. The device consists of a trap spring (*a*) planted in the ground at either end and a vice (*b*) which is pressed against the trap spring by means of a small piece of wood (*c*), the clamp. This releasing device is connected with the lever by means of a string (*d*) tied to the clamp. The string is fastened to the free (left-hand) arm of the lever and thus holds up the tree trunk, which is tied to the other arm of the lever. The vice (*b*) extends through the fence poles into the corridor where it is covered by leaves placed over sticks that have been bent in the shape of a gable.

Now, when an animal enters the corridor and steps on the vice, the latter is pressed down and thereby the clamp is released, so that the left arm of the lever flies up and the tree trunk falls down.

In spite of the great amount of work involved in constructing the long fence, this spring trap is usually not made jointly by all inhabitants of a village, but -- like the fish weir -- by two men.

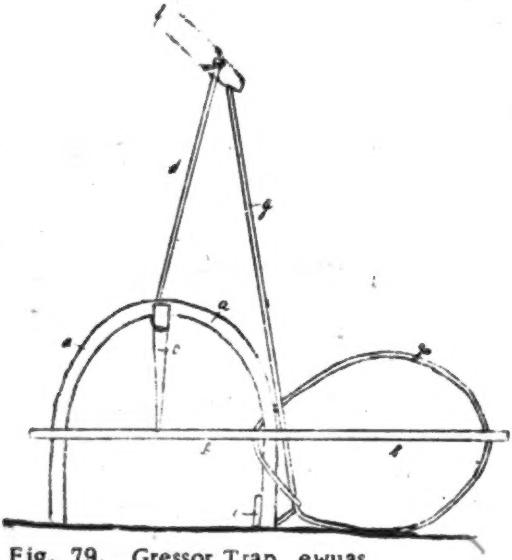

Fig. 79. Gressor Trap, ewuas.

(b) Tree draw trap

The most frequently used trap for smaller birds is the tree draw trap, nkpwă̦s (nkpwă̦s = an imitation of the sound of a trap slamming shut or of the hand seizing the prey), Figure 80. It is set up in trees, and hence the trap spring (a) is tied to a twig (x). A novelty here is the fact that what is usually the free end of the vice, the extension (as we have called it), is clamped inside the fork of a holding pin (i) (ntĕbe-ošū III, from a tebe = to stand, ošū = before; thus, projection). An- [223 other innovation is the arrangement of the noose which is made 224] from two ropes of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui; stalk = ndénan). The two ropes are tied together at one end and fastened to a twig which takes the place of the draw stick (f); then a string (h) is slung around the branch (x) and tied loosely to the noose (g) (in y) so that it can be moved along it. The ends of the sling are now laid around the extension of the vice; the bait is tied on it at z, and the trap is ready. The bird that sits down on the vice at z

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;
2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcupines [285 (ngŭm), elongated baskets (nkŏ,e'-ngŭm) made of the stalks 824] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsăn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nsŭm I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that [534] carry wooden bells (nkōle-mvū́ I, mvūn̄o IV, angŭn e mvū́, edūn̄ e mvū́, ongōlă'-mvū́, ekbwĕle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and [41] the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

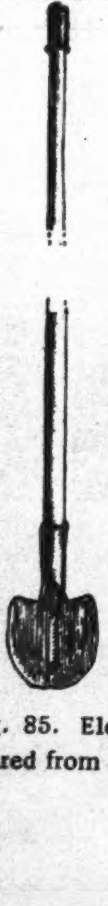

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

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177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

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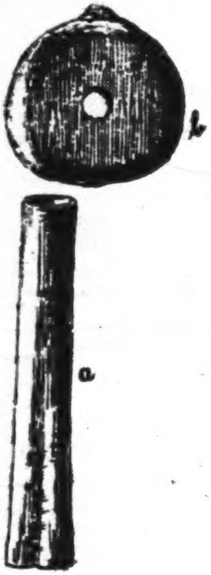
● 824 The crossbow (mbắn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwă(s)-mbắn) (1) and the bow (endži ā́-mbăn)(2)



[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvi̯m); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvṵ́ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfá́ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elṍm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǫ̆k); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǫ̆k-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enǭ eẑǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajī́ẹ); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (ẑǫ̆k e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebắm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǫ̆́n); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ). /(8) is omitted by the author./

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

411 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side; of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

411 The short arrows (ebẹí), Figure 89 g, which are carried in at-
● 824 tractive quivers (kū̧lǎ IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 90 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndǘ-mbǎ̧n IV) from the Menispermacea Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndǘ-mbǎ̧n), more rarely from the Flacourtiacea Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nǔ̧m e ndǘ) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nǔ́m = man, that is, male ndǘ (mban).

[278] can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (enʔẹ).

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǫ̌s); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǒkǫ̌n); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebą̄'i); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abě̄); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǫ̇n, tǭmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisą̌'n); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangą̌'me III Fang, engǔkǫ́'m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ'b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǎk e sǎ'n); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzǎ-odžī dží́k or bodžǎbodžī dží́k); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abě̄-ošǔe); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐn e ndžǐk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǒ'n); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǫ̌m eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū'mǎ, alų̌'ma, and akų́ndų̌m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamvǐne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adžǫ̌m; fruit, esų̌n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okā́lǎn IV, undų̌ndū́ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
436 Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with
268 tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
824 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǒ'n I) and

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebăngabănga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ajīnebe-nzăm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžǒmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (să[s] -džăm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebügebǒn); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andăk); a Composita (elǫ[k] -osüe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfüpfü'i-zăm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajăn-osüę); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkǒn afá'n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E.Brown (ndé's). /148/

258
462 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zăm), cut down the salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
285 funnel which they crudely plait (ngăɲ nkú IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmokǒmo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is
828 closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum (obū't), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atǒt) (1);

1. From the stem tǒ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

1: Tessmann--137 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

415 252 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 252 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǫ̈k) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǫ̈k I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dž̌ǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dž̌ǎd) and smaller plates (ovǒk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

● [824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekųk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

252 (a) Cassava rolls or cassava loaves (mbŏ́m I-mbŏ́m, ebōbŏ́).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In those places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over [136] the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running [133] water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the firmer fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. 253 Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pul- 824 verized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

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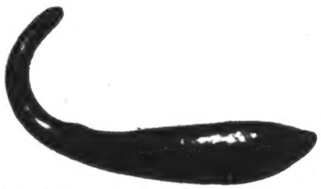
824



[415
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

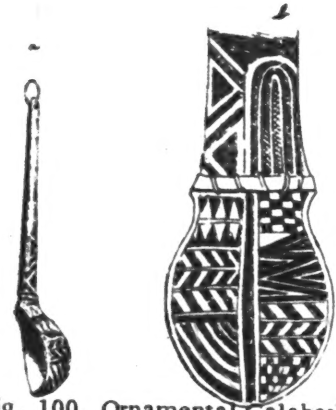
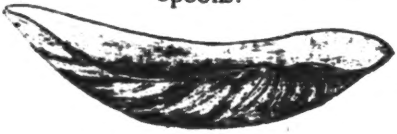


Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.



[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiăįkūĭ, okiăį) (1). Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andúma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embŭŏ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndén IV, ndénan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

1. okiáį = leaf; a kūi = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252

(c) Boiled cassava roots (agbwă̦ma-mbǔ̱ṅ).

A species of our plant, one which has comparatively little poison and which for that reason does not require a long period of leaching in water, is cut to size like the above and boiled for an hour. Its very insipid and fibrous root is eaten hot.

(d) Ground cassava boiled in a leaf bent into a stirrup shape (nkǔ̱ʹnă-mbǔ̱ṅ I).

A strip of bark is split off from the root with the cutlass, and [124] the interior is scraped out with a rough piece of stalk taken from the trunk of the rattan palms Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkā̱ne) or Calamus deerratus M. et W. (edžĭ̦n). The slivers fall onto a leaf placed underneath and are then ground on the grindstone. The pulp is then thoroughly kneaded with a stirring spoon in a basketwork plate or wooden plate lined with a leaf. Water, which first runs over a charred piece of plantain bark in a leaf funnel, is added to it as it is kneaded. In this way, the water and thus also the cassava pulp acquire a blackish tinge, supposedly because the women do not like the white color of the cassava. The pulp /Figs. 102 and 103 appear here in the original text/ is then placed inside a rolled leaf bent into the shape of a stirrup (Fig. 103); like the cassava rolls it is set on the fire with very little water and boiled for an hour.

Fig. 102. Cassava Roll.

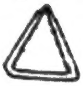


Fig. 103. Leaf Bent into the Shape of a Stirrup.

This dish is glutinously tough and blackish; it has an ugly appearance and a rather unpleasant taste.

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
415 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angũngũ'ī-ndžīk III Ntum, ngũ'ī-ndžīk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayǒ[k] me nkō'k)." The latter method of

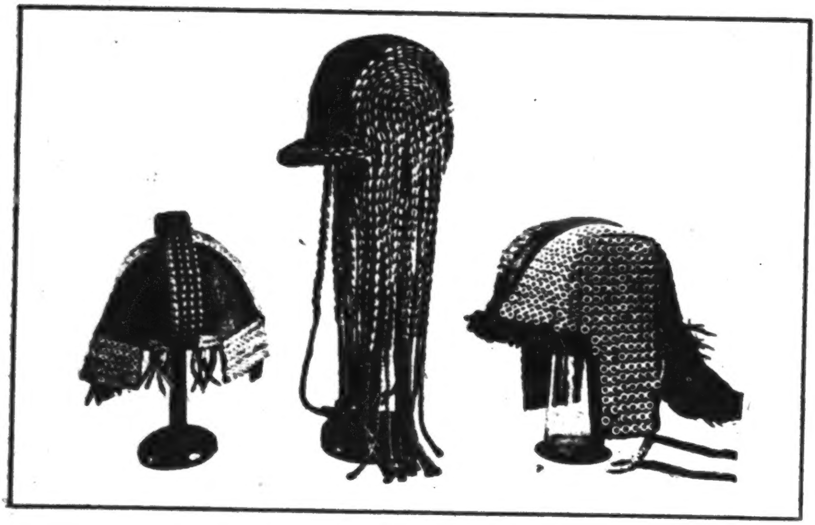
 292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about 302
half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only
by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments 301
are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case
among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the
butt of ridicule.

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only 292
as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes 765
also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/

To make his ornamental caps (*edọ̆'ban*, *etū̦e'*), the Ntum takes 294
a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or 281
sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn
over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-
spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the
edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the
hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire.

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the *Triumfetta* are needed. 294
These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 386
824

294
386
824 plants (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot

1. Combretacea *Terminalia superba* Engl. et Diels (*akŏ́m*), Euphorbiaceae *Bridelia zenkeri* Pax. (*ewŏ̄́lŏ́k*), *Alchornea cordifolia* Muell. Arg. (*abṻ́ī*, Ntum), *Megabarea trillesii* Pierre (*abṻ́ī-žǎ̌m*), Leguminosa *Mucuna flagellipes* Vogel (*kǫ́ndǒ̄ǒ́-žǎ̌m*), Borraginacea *Cordia odorata* Gürke (*ébē̆*, Fang, *ebǎ̌ī*, Ntum), Anacardiacea *Pseudospondias tessmannii* Engl. (*angǒkǒ̌n*), Flacourtiacea *Petersia minor* Niedenzu (*abiň*).

in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

291/177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (*a*, *b*), a porcupine's tail (*c*), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (*d*), brass coiled in a spiral (*e*), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of *Costus* (*miẽ̌n*), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa *Cryptosepalum* aff. *staudtii* Harms (*andũṅ*) and of the herb called *afuṅ*. The latter two are worn only by women and [304] usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned ● [304] presses the leaves of the *Aframomum* (*adžǒm*), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

30 transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck [184] ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the *Mucuna flagellipes* Vogel (*kŏndŏ́ŏ́-zăm* III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm *Podococcus barteri* Mann et Wendl. (*niamvǐne*), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (*Diospyros* varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle *Spizaetus* (*ndü̆ī́* IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce, are made from strips of *Oncocalamus mannii* Wendl. (*nloṅ*) or *Trachyphrynium violaceum* (*nkŏmokŏ́mo*), held together by a graceful braid of *Rhectophyllum* threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea *Trymatococcus africanus* H. Baillon (*ngṓna* IV), which among the Ntum is worn

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1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

[177]

2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otŭ̃[k] -mfŏ̆ŏ̆	a	dž̆ŏ̆nā:	kā	mvŏ̆ń
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is	rain

a	bṓde	ma,	ngbă̦na	a	wŏ̆́ban	e	madž̆ĭ̦́m	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bɛ̄	ma	ană̌
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 389 ● 824 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (*ogbwắm* Fang, *ogbwḗ̦mē* Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 824 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea *Doacanga diplochlamys* K. Sch. (*oj̆ẹ̆ metŭ̄ẹ̆* Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea *Quassia africana* Baill. (*iš̆ŭ́ă̦-elĭ́*), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea *Heteropteris africana* A. Juss.

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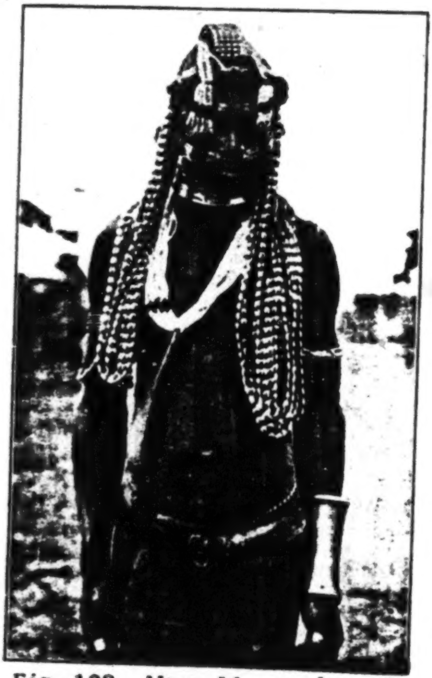
[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

515 (mfŭ́m-e-ndzǐk IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozŏ́k). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndǎ́wōlō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akō̆ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mié megŭmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.



[301
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Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

302
824 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvǎ́s IV), those carved entirely out

302
824 of wood (Fig. 139, *b-d*) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, *a*). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (*akūt*), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea *Cyperus articulatus* L. (*andǎ́k*);
2. Moracea *Dorstenia scabra* (Bureau) Engl. (*azö̌'m Fang*);
3. Urticacea *Trymatococcus africanus* H. Baillon (*ngǭ'nǎ* III);
4. An undetermined grass called *niasǎda*.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the *Trymatococcus* this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (*a kūt*, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302
827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒŏ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (*okǒñ*), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515
164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

2) Boiled oil.

249 252 824 ● The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed *Andropogon schoenanthus* (*ośim e ntangan*), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum *Pachylobus edulis* E. Don. (*asá'* Ntum, *ośŭ́'nga* Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 252 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pounding, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

000 Fifth Part. Pottery. General observations, products, price and manufacture of the pots. Decoration. Manufacture of blast pipes.

463 Crafts in our sense are nonexistent among the Pangwe. All the manual skills are only practiced on the side and are strictly secondary to the economic activities of agriculture, catching fish, and trapping. The very simple skills are familiar to and practiced by everyone. Beyond that, specialization begins, and among the Pangwe it is developed to the utmost. Indeed, this specialization goes so far that, for example, not even the carrying straps for children -- which only consist of two leather strips sewn together -- can be made by all household heads; furthermore, a person who manufactures eating spoons cannot make any other wood product, not even a stirring spoon. A stool maker knows only how to make stools, a crossbow carver can only make crossbows, one who makes men's carrying baskets (ebə̄ˈde) can only make men's carrying baskets. Since in one village there are often no more than one or two people who know a craft, the inhabitants of the village have to purchase the objects not manufactured by these craftsmen from all corners of the compass. It may happen that they have to go some distance or even make a journey to obtain a stool, a crossbow, or the like /205/

1. Bark work.

824 3/4 Tree bark is used in many ways in the Pangwe household, either in raw form or made into cloth.

(a) Raw bark.

It is used for the following purposes.

1. To cover the house wall and as a door (1).

1. For house construction use is made of the bark of about 15 trees whose scientific names, insofar as I could

314 determine them, are enumerated here:
Flacourtiaceae Homalium buchholzii Warb. (ovṓn-e-să'k); Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzṑ'le); Borraginaceae Cordia odorata Gürke (ebẽ Fang, ebai, Ntum);
Bignoniaceae Markhamia tomentosa K. Sch. (edzĭdzṓ'n);
Rhamnaceae Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkăṅă' I);
Bombaceae Ceiba pentandra *(L) Gärtn.* (dūm IV);
Anonaceae Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) A. Rich. (ojăṅ);
Anonaceae Cleistopholis staudtii Engl. et Diels (avŏ'm, yêmü III);
Anonaceae Isoloma spec. (ovō'k);
Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzĭfŏb, edzĭfŏk);
Triplochitonaceae Triplochiton tessmannii (ajŭš).

2. Decorative barks.
3. Containers.
4. The coffin or as a lining for the body in the grave.
5. To string the sounding board of the harp (see "Musical Instruments," Section 20 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

314 The required pieces of bark /Fig. 157a appears here in the original text/ are obtained in the following manner. The tree is girdled at the top and bottom, and in between a zigzag line is cut with crisscross blows of the cutlass. Starting with this zigzag line, the bark mantle is easily lifted off and removed (Fig. 157a). The crisscross cuts often accidentally cross in such a way that lozenges are formed. These lozenges subsequently serve as an important ornament, to which I shall return later.

415 761 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sǒn, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 442 [321] [824] Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig. 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an elephant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), or the wood of the Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsin) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 824 314 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees (etŏ'b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (embiŏ'n);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adză'b-etŏb);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akŏ'-etōb);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etītŏ, root
to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb.
(etŏ'b, etŏ'b-o-jōb, ejĕ'ī, akăm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asămentúmo
Fang, asămentüéme Ntum);

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●824
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and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abă̧ń, andŭ́m, undŭ́m, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abắ̧ń, and andŭ́m. The best cloth -- it is [245] almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. (embiŏ́n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

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Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[412]

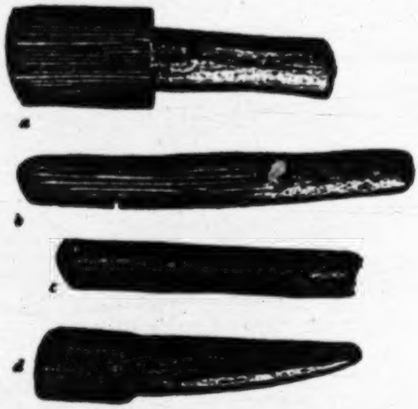

Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

283 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (klĕs IV, ndĕ's,
824 IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (klĕs IV, ndĕ's IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text./ They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngăk), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

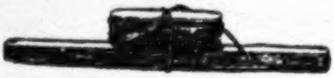

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

283 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gaertnera, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (mfŏk I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

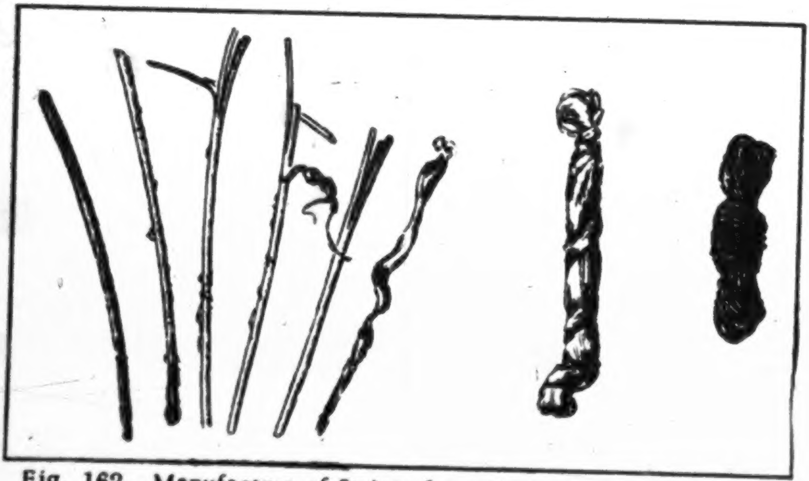

Fig. 162. Manufacture of Strings from *Gaertnera paniculata*.

together with the epidermis -- of the upper surface is loosened from the mesophyll; then the lamina is pulled off. The bast is left to dry, and after it has been hastily twisted or turned into regular strings, it is used for various purposes (for sewing bark cloth, stringing pearls, and so forth).

The most durable ropes (Fig. 162) are made from the bast of the Rubiacea *Gaertnera paniculata* Benth. (*esǭ́mǭ* Fang, *ěsüg̃me* Ntum, *ngǘn* Ntum, Bulu. The shoots /211/ /Fig. 162 appears here in the original text/ of this tree are cut off, and their bark is shaved off by means of a strip of raffia stalk (*ngūṅ*). Then a section at one end is quartered lengthwise, and the shoots are dried for a day. The upper four tips are then bent, which releases the bast layer from the wood, and it is now pulled off in four strips. The layer consists of a fine soft web of fibers which can be processed without further ado. The product is a brownish-colored rope which because of its strength is used for angling lines, game and fish nets, crossbow strings, and stringing decorative cowrie shells. [824]

Triumfetta cordifolia Guill. et Perr. (var. *tomentosa*.), *okūñ*, is a shrub-like growth which sometimes grows taller than a man. It is readily recognizable by its dark-green leaves, which have a shimmering silvery-white and softly haired underside, and its yellowish blossom panicles. Although not equally common everywhere, it occurs in open [824]

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285 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭ́n I). Unlike most other
[462] baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch.
[824] (stalk, ndĕ́m, ndĕ́năn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

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285 2. Carrying baskets (nkŏẽ́ I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and
412 women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not
412 available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

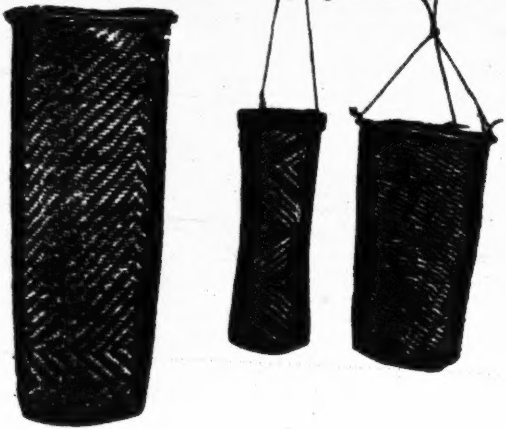
[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

285 3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭ́t, ekŭ́t-
415 azǔ̄ĭ́ = oil press baskets, ekŭ́t-ebê̄ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (azǔ̂ĭ́) of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebê̄) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum
[824] acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

1: Tessmann--228 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

[113] 2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, *Systematik und geographische Verbreitung* der Geflechtsarten /*System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding*/, Leipzig, 1907.

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285
824 The active elements are taken from *Sarcophrynium* stalk strips, *Pandanus* leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name *nlŏ́n̄* I, a word derived from the root *a lŏn* "to braid, to twine" (compare *a lŏn ndǎ*, "to weave a house together, to build"; *a lŏ́n nkŏ̦ē′*, "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, *nlŏ́n̄* designated only the *Eremospatha macrocarpa* M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, *Eremospatha tessmannii* Becc. (*ongǎm*) and especially *Oncocalamus mannii* Wendl. (*ebō̱′dŏ̱gŏ* Fang, *ebŏ̱′dŏ̱k* Ntum; young, *akŏ′lōɛ̦*), Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342
824 1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.

1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

342 benches are made; and -- in the form
824 of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats together.

824 2. In bridge construction, as railing ropes.

3. To wind around worn or bad wooden handles (cutlass and knives) and handles of fly swatters and brooms.

4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden plates, to tie down the bark stretched over the sounding board of the harp, and so forth.

5. As the main strand for the woman's back apron made of bast; the bast bundles are fastened to it.

6. As string for the musical bow (elĕm).

7. As bird snares.

8. In making bark containers (see above).

9. As decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285 824 The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne, more rarely ekă̧), Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the following ways.

1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

2. Walking sticks.

3. Sugar press.

4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

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5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā̆ʹs) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edžĭ̧ṅ) (1),

1. This is also used for flutes (ndžĭ̧ṅ I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akō̆-edžĭ̧ṅ).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285 415 The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

[462] 1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afŏn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

285 415 482 [824] 2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkŏȩ̄ʹ I, nkbēʹ I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkā̱ne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlŏʹn̆).

3. Small carrying baskets (okŏkŏȩ̄ʹ, "small carrying basket," and engā̱ʹne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekắna ňsūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā̱ʹda), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

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(7) Basketwork plates (*džǎ̧d*; plural *biǎ̧d*).

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the *Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum* Becc. (*nkāne*) or of the Marantacea *Trachyphrynium violaceum* Radlk. (*nkǒ̧monkǫ́mo* Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the *Oncocalamus mannii* Wendl. (*nlǒ̧́n*), the Orchidacea *Myrsacidium productum* Kranzl. (*okǫ́-o-jō̉b* (1), *anžǔ́·ma*), the Apocynacea *Motandra* spec. (*okǒ̧-e-sí*) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (*nkǭ-ešǔšǔ*). The position of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

1. *okǒ̧* from the root *kō* = band, rope; *o jō̉b* = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; *o sí̧* = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

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They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

322 The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury
[352] object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money.
For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood
[554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated
stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to,
they could make a considerable amount of money with their art,
and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital
laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will
take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in
the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and
says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like
that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist
finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down
● [824] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekũk), the
only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a
trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same
diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the
trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven
disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his
cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this
line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three
radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwák IV),
Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made
smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown.
[824] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus
exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the
[386] legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun;
531] finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition
which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears
here in the original text. /

322 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one
476 day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs,
435 apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

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1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare
a-kō-k, "grindstone."

322 434 554 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 415 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏb) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the 824 Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebă'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood 342 (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ'nege-tŏk), Figure 177.

● 824 1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā, III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭŏ'le Ntum, dzĭ III, nyō'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emyila).

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 534 824 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myē' IV Ntum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'n); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎi,) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 411 [824] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osǎbēj' (1). The wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

1. sǎ = to split, bēǰ' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

1: Tessmann--244 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

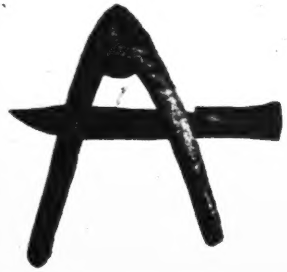

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

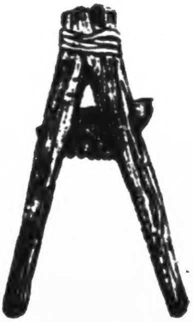

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Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds 325
approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine 789
is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the [435]
Triumfetta (okŋ̍ǹ) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or [824] ●
of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezịzö'n), and poison (nśų̌). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the [826]
smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒ,me o sī, = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒ,m, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine 325
alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, 834
and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction
with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater
distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for
iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron
from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this
misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the
sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The
[439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death
325 blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure
783 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into
841 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those
participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists
of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting
beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is
supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed
with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned
and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the
● [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one
wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At
the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce
to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp.
In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post
(top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which
holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns,
and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the
325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particularly
769 suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent
from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sḗī IV) (1) and is
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1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

325 372 [824] intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miĕ, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebāi); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elŭn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edūm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsin); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngŭn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 343 834 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (žŏṅ IV), and bellows.

[281] The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alŏ-nkŭm, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndžŭi'-nkŭm, "bellows nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

325 461 791 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle ●[824] of the Violacea *Rinorea gracilipes* Engl. or the Leguminosa *Bandeiraea tenuiflora* Benth. (both *ovǒ́ṅ e ndžīk*) (1) in order to eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

[775] 1. Called *ovǒ́n e ndžīk* (*ndžīk*, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the *Copaifera tessmannii* Harms. (*ovǒ́ṅ*), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of *Copaifera*.

325 789 ●824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kṓlǭ́t IV Fang, kǫ̆t IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlăt I) (1). The

> a lắ̧-t, "unite," hence nlăt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lắ̧-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elǒbokūī), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkă-ndžīk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (myīfį́n IV Fang, myǐpfį́m IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afǒnŏk). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 435 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngǒn[d]ǒ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

754 we are already familiar.

278 Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nšų̆ usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
[825] 2. a red crab from the forest (nkő̆ṅĕle kặ'dă) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by žē, žē.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsīsă), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nšų̆ contains:
1. ngō-akọ'k or ekō̧l-akọ'k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akų̆n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[825] 3. nlō'ṅo ngüȩ̄n, a centipiede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nšų̆ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew
[287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondų̆'m tree
[292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed
● [824] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abő'mĕdză'n),
[151] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous
[734] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags
[759] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

754 278 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia ● [824] [411] fastigiata Oliv. (esă'jăme) and then place in it for five days the pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 674 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 757 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

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[769]

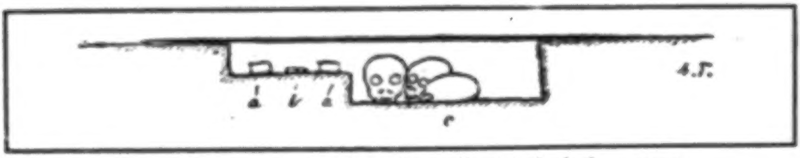

Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer,
Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls
777 are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor
care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the
[824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyǒ́n).
The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine
man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows.
The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/
and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel
filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the
[801] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a
stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is
available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is
now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on
[415] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket
[877] (ebā́dā̆) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity;
on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish,
brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which
are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed
[293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory,
[622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to
chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has
sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

777 539 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you? If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." *Emam mese masámabo ava*. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

777 838 It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

777 A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those which especially help one to marry or abduct women (*biăṅ e bǫm*); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (*biăṅ e bame*, *biăṅ a vōge*), such as the great Anonacea
● [824] *Pachypodanthium confius* Pierre, Engl. et D. (*ntŭm* I) and the Melastomacea *Memexylon tessmannii* Gilg (*ntŭ'mă* IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

832 In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most important and the most common are the love medicines (*biăṅ anduman*). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (*engǒṅežǒk*) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained. ● [824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's [825] tooth[1] into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒn) of a famous [826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒnezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (zǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvěī-mōt), preferred by women [826] because of the skin color (1).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī-zǎlǎn), so the love will be as powerful [821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

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[184] 1. Opinions concerning an albino vary a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

[1] [or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832 destroy the medicine.

7. The tooth of a chief, to make one capable of talking as well as a chief, who obviously wins his wives by his words.

● 824 8. *Monodora tenuifolia* Bth. (*fǫ̌b* IV).

832 9. *Ocimum basilicum* L. (*ošįm*), the "forget-me-not of the Pangwe (a *šiman*, "to remember, not to forget"); the woman will not forget her lover.

10. *Aeolanthus edlingeri* Gürke, labiates (*elǎ'ngelǎ'nge* Fang) with which the women like to adorn themselves since they smell pleasant and have a soporific effect.

11. *Abutilon indicum* Sw., Malvacea (*abofū'* III), since the plant has a white sheen, and the woman must see the lover as "pure" as the plant. The tooth is closed off with wax, and a parrot feather, which must have been found in the woods, is stuck on it (Fig. 55).

832 This medicine brings good luck otherwise than just during the festive period; one could say that it performs miracles. Placed under the threshold in the house of the beloved, in such a way that the girl does not see it, it makes her "consent" immediately when the lover wants to abduct her; if before this, she did not love the suitor, she will now prefer him to all others. In short, she will henceforth "only say yes," and all this has been brought about by the *engongeschok* with its throat (= voice).

Monodora and *avǒm* in a leaf bag are placed in a pot of water, and this is suspended from flexible rod in the center of the festive area in front of the meeting house (Fig. 56, *a*). The /160/ festive area is customarily closed off by a curtain of raffia leaves; within it /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ a peculiar frame (Fig. 56 *b*) is set up, which, the natives say, is meant to represent traps. In addition, a cult place is cleared at the side of the house, where actual traps are set up. I shall return to these in a moment. A civet's skin with two tail pieces, into which is sewn a love medicine, is hung from the frame.

When all this is ready, the festive goat is fetched, and the ancestral skulls are told that everything is in readiness. Now the actual festival, which lasts two days, can begin.

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[291]
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Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andŭ'măn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] ● sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžī) (1). In Ebăangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
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769 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the *Cylicodiscus gabunensis* (Taub) Harms (*edūm*), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

832 I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

The concluding celebration took place in the love grove. A man seized the tree with one hand and swayed about, while the others took the skulls from the traps, danced with them in the opposite direction around the tree, and were embraced by him every time they passed him. [782] Then the festive goat was brought and slaughtered, its blood was poured over the skulls and medicines, and a speech of conciliation was addressed to the skulls. This speech culminated with the request that they should not be angry for having lain outside without food; a goat had now been brought to them, and they were from now on expected to make every effort to assist their descendants in matters of the heart. So the festival ended to the satisfaction of both the skulls and the young men.

Fig. 59.

[824] Love Medicine of the Wood of Monodora tenuifolia.

It would be impossible here to cite by name all the plants
832 used for love medicines; all we can do is to mention the
824 criteria that were paramount in choosing them, as well as a number of examples. In each case, some quality that is to be transferred to the person is involved, for example, the following.

1. Abundance of blossoms, fruit, and shoots, especially when the blossoms or shoots are beautiful; the desire is to appear likewise in the eyes of the beloved. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fŏb IV), (Fig. 59), because of its luxuriant shoots with magnificent leaves; furthermore, the Simarubacea Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (alŏ́b), with its resplendent red to blue shoots.

2. Beauty of the blossoms. Examples: many orchids (ajắṅ-ojɔ́b) and Scitamineae, like Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. obặ[s]-adžŏm, blossoms atsặ[k] adžŏm) and Canna bidentata Bertol (ekōn e žǫk); furthermore, Mussaenda species, which have colorful top leaves.

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3. Beauty of the leaves. Example: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom. (ntę̆'bĕ III), with its delicate leaves, and the cordate Geophila speciosa K. Sch. (esę̌k-osǒ́ke).

4. Beauty of the stems. Examples: Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (eję̍n); Triplochiton tessmannii (ajǔ̧s); and, above all, Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžį) already mentioned.

5. The white color of the stems and leaves: Voacanga obtusa K. Schum. (edūmvǒn a zǎm); Polygonum lanigerum R. Br. (elǭamīę̄); and Abutilon indicum Sw. (abofū') already mentioned. /164/

6. The fact that the trees are isolated (certain trees are supposed to keep down smaller ones through the development of their crowns; in the same way, one wants to keep rivals at a distance), such as engǒ́kǔm and Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntǔ́mǎ IV).

7. Beautiful fragrance, such as afúm and Plectranthus (avǎ).

8. Tendency of the plants to wind around others; one wants to be united with the woman in just the same way. Examples: the parts of two lianas that have grown together (Fig. 60) and roots which wind around each other, like those of the Dracaena viridiflora Engl. and Kr. (alę̌'n-ogbwǒ III); furthermore, the tendency of plants to wind around other growths, in particular the Rubiacea Sabicea calycina Benth. (okǭ'dǎn) (1), the Aclepiadacea Secamone myrtifolia Bth. (okǭ'amalę̌'n), and others.

9. Formation of burrs; the desire is to stick to the woman like a burr. Examples: Desmodium species (obō'bonzēn), (burr fruits); the Cyperacea Scleria barteri Bckl. (pfǎ́fō'lō III Ntum), whose leaves and stalks are sticky; and especially the grass Streptogyne crinita R. Beauv. (nkǎ̧m I, nkǎ̧mesǒ'sǫ̌ I), whose panicles stick together with extraordinary firmness. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./

10. Popularity among women. Examples: Kolobopetalum auriculatum Engl. (andę̌'me III), popular among women as a belt;

1. a kō'-dǎn, "to wind around, to wind around each other."

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824 *Lygodium smithianum* Pr. (*ozǒk*), used by women for ornaments.

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I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the *Microglossa volubilis* (Wall) D.C. (*mvūvū'*) are used as love medicines.

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825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

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224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (*biǎṅ ngā*), that is, medicines that guarantee a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (*biǎṅ betǎ*), 18 hunting medicines (*biǎṅ tīt*), four crossbow medicines (*bia n mbǎn*), two medicines for hunting drives (*biǎṅ a kǐṅ tīt*), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (*biǎṅ mvū́*) (Fig. 62).

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the *Oncinotis tessmannii* Gilg (*njĕm osŏk*, "tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
824 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his
hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts
are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees
that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally,
plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity
of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medicine
789 for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated
with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against
enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks,
fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make
enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden);
(f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and
singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually
"singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine
against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the
Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong),
about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2
actual size./ /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
783 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which
have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and
imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is
charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that
one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the
impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face,
hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the
rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed
in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water
which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to
run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream
(ošüe nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so
forth.

The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
769 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
224 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same
826 kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekīlǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
721 tion which is called ańgūńgu and is a companion festivity to the
789 engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afắne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

755 539 sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

755 824 Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: *ngī́ a bĕlē niĕ*, that is, Ngi has him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: *Leea guineensis* Don (*afǒbesǒn*), *Musanga smithii* R. Br. (*asǒ́n*), *Trema guineense* (Schum.) Engl., *Vernonia conferta* Bth., *Costus*, *Emilia*, *Uapaca*, *Antidesma*, and *Heckeria*.

755 The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [825] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the [824] Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkā̧ne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfǖ̩ī́di, from a pfűde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ̩bǎ̍n I; verb, a kŭ̩bǎ̍n), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

[184] Among the Jaunde the a pfǖ̩īdi is unknown because the cults are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. [754] The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

759 The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

757 278 164 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate, assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods [714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The [837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of *ojắñ e* [824] *ndžik* (*Microglossa afzelii*) and of *ojă̦h* (*Xylopia aethiopica*), from *a jắñ*, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, *efifi'dí* (*Diospyros*), from *fī'di*, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, *ovĭna ekǫ̃n* (black plantains), from *a yǐn*, "to become black"; hence, *ǒsŭ̦tŭ elǫk* (*Phaulopsis*) from *nsǔt*, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (*ojṵ́n*, *mbắṅ*).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

79/ The teeth, the eye, and a piece of an *evū'-besī̌* (see Vol. II, p. 128 /Ed., not translated/) are placed in the /195/ horn, which is sealed with monitor lizard skin. Once the principal medicine has been secretly acquired in this gruesome manner, the ordination of the novice into the office of soothsayer takes place in public on the village square. The medicine man boils a chicken together with leaves of various medicine plants, especially of the ● [824] "medicine tree," *Distemonanthus benthamianus* Baill. (*elǐ'bengǎń, ejěn*), and he gives the novice some of this concoction to eat ten times (1). Then the old man leaps about the village square shaking the soothsayer's horn, chars a piece of the most gigantic liana of [824] the Pangwe region, *Entada scandens* Benth., Leguminosa (*ntū'* I), after he has touched it several times with his foot as he was leaping about, makes an incision in one of the novice's toes, and rubs the ashes into the wound. As he does so, he says: "If you go to war and you knock your toe against the ground so that the wound opens, the prospects for your side will be bad; otherwise they will be good" (for the liana strives upwards). The ashes of the liana, therefore, are supposed to communicate to the toe the plant's property of striving upwards and thereby help the soothsayer to rise above his fellow human beings just as the liana in its striving for light rises above the other trees. This concludes the initiation, and the novice is now a full-fledged soothsayer.

As a fee for divination, usually from one to five spears (seven to 35 pfennigs) are paid, but in times of war, when excitement, tension, and fear fill everyone with uncertainty, considerably more is paid. At such times the distrust towards soothsayers, which today is already almost universal, gives way to a willing credulity. During peaceful times the situation is pretty much as it is with us; very stupid and superstitious people, for the most part women, go to the wise man, but the great majority no longer believe in his hocus-pocus. "There are a lot of lies in it," I was told, "but once

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[801] 1. Ten is the number of wisdom, seven the lucky number, and three or nine the sacred number of the Pangwe.

821 775 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedient fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder [152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does 789 821 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows -- in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it, ● [824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvḗ, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a binǎn, which is contained in the
821 name abin, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
789 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
821 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824] Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
821 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsĕdĕkiă̌i, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
824 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zĕlănă̌, from á sĕlăn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

789 It should be emphasized that th[illegible]ngwe no longer regard
778 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstitition"; they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

821 Thus Essamniắmaböge became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.

539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day,
and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people
from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them
only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded
to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
789 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels
[754] ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to
knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who
has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of
the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also
have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on
the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them
to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them
weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and
thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass
(obū́t), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

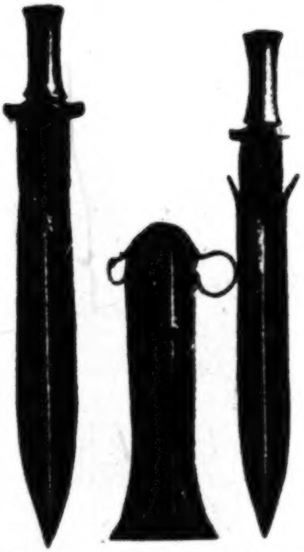

Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (asas) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text./

In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this 722 is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first
few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired
old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely de-
pendable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and
thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better
yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual
intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it
[834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In
[824] order to staunch the blood (a dži̯ǒ makji), the women stuff dry
● plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time
to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of
the flow of blood.

In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from
832 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early
824 age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason,
they take medicines, biǎʌ nkṳ̈n, medicines for the penis, whose
effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in ac-
cordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the
power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the
following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angǒ̥k); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiacea (mbǎ'n-afǎn I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tǭmo[k] IV Fang, tǔe̥me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiacea (onǒn nsǻk, t. -nsǻk), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tṳ̄e̥'me-afǎ'n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa R. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekǒ'm), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndžike fǎm = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (ejǭ' a fǎm a

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● 824
[825]

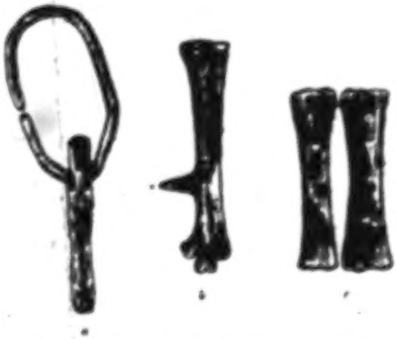

Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock,
(c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsŏsŏ'k I], and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii G.lb. (anduń a ndžĭk). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (kŏ'ša III, asąs), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfáfō'lō III Ntum, from pfã = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afólō, afolŭń = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rool) K. Sch. (andŭń = seed; ndŭń) (1): Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare nduăn = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik - Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oĭi̯m e ntăńgǎn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abě).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (otŭ̄m), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sĭ[s] ndžĭ'k).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (ejĭ̌n e ndžĭk), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asĭ'm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (olĭ fǐm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elǭ[k] a tǒn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 278 The medicines for impotence (biăn̥ a jě̂ or biăn̥ ejě̂) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea *Corynanthe* *yohimbe* K. Sch.,
● [824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name
"yohimbin," The natives produce an extract from the bark and
wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its
effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as
follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of
other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and
tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood
if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the
name *nkǘn* *e* *ngū̄į*, "pig's penis."

Aside from the *Corynanthe* *yohimbe*, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa *Baphia* *buettneri* Harms (*mfǎ* I, *mfǎn* I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea *Homalium* *africanum* Bth. (*ejǘm*, supposedly from
a *jüme* *nkǚn*, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never
again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in *ejǘm*
is the same as in *nnǚm*, plural *bojǚm* = masculine gender; thus,
the tree would be called *ejǘm* for (e) the man; *majǚm*, plural =
seed). /267/ The leaves of the *Baphia* *buettneri* are gathered,
ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the *Homalium*, on the other
hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with
spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of *biǎṅ* *ejē*, among these, the *Solanum* *duplosinuatum* U.D. (*etūi'n*) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for
the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife
must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears)
he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other
hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can
claim no damages.

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831
785 The custom of miŋ̌k consecration was formerly practiced throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (těge III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

839 In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be
[824] foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539]

o	kūe	ma	zā̃ (sā[k])	ebō̂n		onū́,
you	find	me	satisfying	vagina	(with the)	finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a
[196] "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

oa	bĕle		nkŭn,
you	have	(the)	penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "chil-
838 dren." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiăñga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bŏ ne bŏñgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bĕle nnḗm e bŏñgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course, 551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsŏm, from nsŏ́m = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngĭ = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. esŭ́n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

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1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsŏm came from nsŏ́m, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsŏm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsŏm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

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825

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down
to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tę̄'i matę'iɛ, ma kăbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matę̄'ĭ = the imposed curse, a va matę̄'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tę̄'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otĭtę̄i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ósūɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkíā̧i; Chorus: mā̃n.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

[201] At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indicate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
● [824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

579 Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
595 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbī'; a combination of our
857 hopscotch and catch, called ngā́-ngüī̧; furthermore, rope pulling, edudan, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ogbŭn̂; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /294/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called eśū̧ma koḝ (Fang, etă' (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekū̧kū́.

[481] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[824] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region. It is called ngŏk, after the fre-
[824] quently mentioned Desplatsia devewrei Burset (angŏk), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /295/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

857 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102)
●[824] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch.
[825] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called ndǒ'ń. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nie̱'ṅ. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Dornesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 174]

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The stone game of the children is a simpler form of the
524 same game played by adults. It is called sō'no and consists of a
857 halved raffia leafstalk whose pith is hollowed out into 12 compartments, arranged in two rows. To the right and left of the ends there is a compartment, twice as big as the others, for captured stones. /302/

The procedure of the game corresponds precisely to that of the adults and is differentiated from the latter only by the fact that in each compartment there are four canna seeds as playing stones, instead of five palm nuts or other large fruit seeds.

The bowling game, mbɔ̌h (mbɔ̌h = bowling ball), in which
524 the extraordinarily well-developed observational powers of the
857 Negroes are triumphantly displayed, is quite noteworthy. The
153 average European would probably cut a poor figure in this "child's play"; I at least declined to engage in it. For the bowling game
● [824] one must have about 30 of the pill-shaped Canna indica seeds. The game leader, A, takes these seeds in his hand; previously, he has already agreed upon a number, let us say 18, with a fellow player, B. This number must now be discovered by the players, or, as the Negro says, it must be "shown." A throws the balls out rapidly and gives each of them, by way of a name, as it were, the numbers from one to 30 as he throws them. Once all thirty balls are at rest -- having of course rolled every which way, in no particular order -- A points to the aforesaid eighteenth ball while B shuts his eyes as he does so, in order to point to the ball himself afterwards. Thereby A is prevented from cheating or -- as happens more frequently -- from making a mistake. In other words, it is a counter-test. In the subsequent throws, in which the same number counts, the players must indicate the aforesaid ball. This often happens with the second or third throw. The one who recognizes the ball first becomes the leader in the next game, in which another number is chosen.

As the final group game, we shall mention a memory game which is popular with boys six to seven years old. It is called bolǭ'mo, a name which is also applied to the main player and memory artist who must go to one side or outside the door and then answer. The questioner, seated in the circle of players, has ten

524 857 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, *a*) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings *b*-*f*.

[825] Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard skin cut into the shape of a fish (*atšiń ekob e tit*), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

[824] The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the *Pentaclethra* /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear here in the original text/ *macrophylla* Benth. (*atšiṅ ebą̌'ĩ*), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305//Figs. 110 & 111 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (*makǒṅ me bǫ̌'ngo* = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

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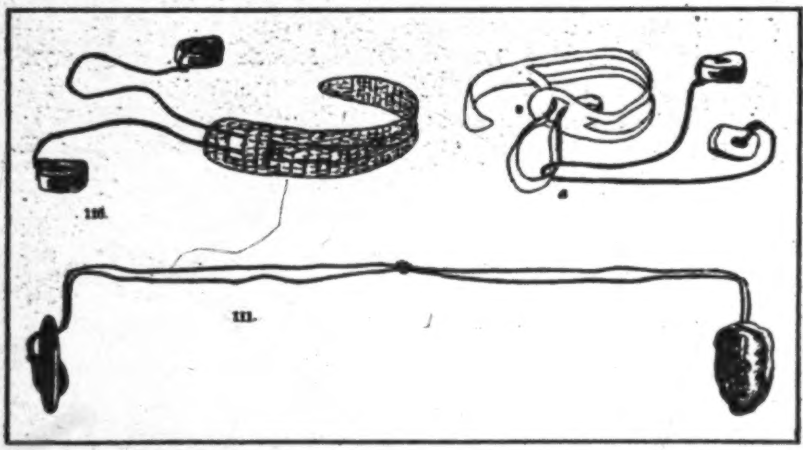

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Fig. 110. Patience Game with a Monitor Lizard Skin and a String with Oil Palm Nuts, (a) Solution of the Problem.
Fig. 111. Patience Game using Pentaclethra Seed.

The trick of making a ball appear in the hand of a spectator (efā', from the root fa = confined, enclosed, transitive and intransitive) is a simple one. It is reminiscent of our trick of counting three coins while picking them up and putting them down. For the efā' game an arbitrary number, but not too small, of balls (for instance, canna seeds) or short raffia sticks are laid in a row in pairs. The number of pairs must always be uneven. In addition, an extra ball, called efā', that is, the enclosed one, is put down by itself to finish off the row. Now the chief player, A, and one of the spectators, B, take one ball each from the pairs, and B gets the extra one. In order to influence his fellow player, A, shaking his hand back and forth, calls out after the extra ball "enclosed" by B: "efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', nzɨk, efā' nzɨk, efā' nzɨk, efā' nzɨk, efā', efā', efā', efā', = enclosed one, enclosed one, come, enclosed one!" Now B is asked to place two balls together. Then A places two together, then B again, and so forth, until all the balls are lying in pairs. To the amazement /306/ of those poor at figuring, A actually places the "enclosed one" as the last one at the end of the row. Thus efā' really did come to A.

Conjuring away the middle one of three leaves lying on top of each other is really astonishing. For this purpose, three leaves of [824]

524 Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekǫ̃k) are placed on top of each other;
857 the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is re-
[824] moved. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kŭgdŭ ekăn̈, kūgdŭ a zăn̈,
[539] o ke o mvūs = remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which 524 is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones [171] in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the [177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum [184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leafstalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leafstalks is divided into seven compartments (*ndą̌* = house; plural, *mandą̌*). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the [184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (*ngŏ́k* IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named *sǭ'ngo* (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called *akų̆ń* because of the large black beads (*akų̆ń*) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion. [824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the [194] oil palm or of *Rhicinodendron* /311/ *africanum*; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abīa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
177 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin
184 group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

The game of chance is played with small circular playing
525 disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esǎ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mviɔ̌' I),
[531] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dǒ abīa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

525 578 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling mania. Although in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nonetheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

525 777 924 In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medicines is made, which, according to the view already familiar to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for instance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticacea), sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carpolabia, Polygalacea). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burrs (Desmodium) and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text./

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Pangwe region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as for sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description, however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a kǎṅ nšūɛ́) or take it up (a mǒm nšūɛ́).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (nsǐn I, from a sǐn = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a jǎṅǎn) to be challenged (a šūɛ́ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dūk mbū lǔk enǎm = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

113 821 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to enjoy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

116 II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

116 852 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur,
who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until
[856] the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years
of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to
understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called
akaġa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called
● [824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the
fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to
tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in
the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he
makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success,
in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the
wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children,
that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be
esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaġa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

> e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluġ bunega awum
> That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

776 The evil *evur* concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the *ngwel* and with waging war against the good *bivur*. It is almost always the evil *evur* which is the victor.

(3) *Activities of the evur*. The manifestations of the *evur* are many, and itis the *evur* which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an *evur*. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of *akağa*.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the *akağa*, the *evur* is always malevolent. The only aim of the *ngwel* meetings is to assure the life of the *bivur* through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 155 824 When the good *evur* of a *nem* has worked in full daylight for its owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his *evur*. He can be treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of *ebele beyem*. *Ebele beyem* is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 761 The malevolent activity of the *evur* is always manifested in a death. It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 762 158 The *evur* also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal. For example, a man who wishes to die causes his *evur* to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, *nzip*, or a red antelope, *nkoğ*), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The *evur* then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his *evur*, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 158 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

778 has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece
776 of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be
778 sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc...., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a
778 practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having
824 taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called nseg and the skull seg bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the
[787] hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nlu bieri (the head of the bieri).

276 No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos
778 icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of
787 which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely
dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsüe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

843 (1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without
842 malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

843 842 If three months after the treatment the woman is still not pregnant, there is nothing to be done and she has to give up having children.

(2) A woman may be barren after abortion because of her evur. This
842 is recognized in that she aborts with much suffering and then stays
789 ill afterwards for more than eight days. An appeal is made to the
824 practitioner, who renders the evur harmless by making it crazy. After
having made the woman take a medicine made of white honey (abe),
bark of a cola tree (abel), and bark of abal and atega trees, all mixed
with chicken blood, the practitioner goes with her to the ovah where
where he customarily conducts his ceremonies, and performs a kind of
exorcism which was not revealed to us. Once back in the village, the
woman follows the same [79] treatment as in the case of natural
abortion. The secret ceremony performed by the practitioner is called
avi evur akur (making the evur crazy).

843 (3) Finally, the abortion may have been caused by a male member
842 of the husband's family, the possessor of an evur, who is revealed by
789 the practitioner. If the woman wants to have children, the guilty one
must die. He is discovered in the course of a ceremony, part of which
is carried out at night and at which the presence of women is forbidden;
this is the dance of the bisir. An akuma singer is brought, who recites
stories of the tribes of both husband and wife. Before him, covered
by a large cloth, lie three or four men who are the bisir. These men
have in their hands pointed pieces of bamboo. A young boy of the
husband's family is brought there. He passes several times between
the singer and the bisir, who prick the boy's legs with the bamboo
sticks. The child then goes back into his hut while the songs continue
until dawn, the men of the village dancing and clapping their hands
in accompaniment to the singer.

In the morning the husband of the aborted woman goes into the forest to find two wooden forks, a limb, and some branches. He plants the two forks in the village square, places the limb on them horizontally, and conceals the forks under the branches; this structure is called nzum. The child who passed before the bisir the previous night is seated on the rail. Before all the assembled men and women of the village, the aborted woman approaches the child and says madzuna, nzum me tela esi ũi, e mur awu makula mebum abure (I say, I stay under the nzum so that the man may die who caused me to abort).

844 and helps with its birth. It sometimes happens that the child presents only its head and that the rest has difficulty in following. One of the women present goes to ask the husband if, during the pregnancy of his wife, he has nailed anything or fastened it with vines, as it could be this that is holding the child back. In this case the husband must unnail or detach something; similarly, if he has built a hut, he must remove some bark from the wall of any hut in order to facilitate the birth of the child.

845 824 If the delivery is especially difficult, a man leads a young boy to a wild mango tree (andok), takes him by the feet, and makes him scratch the bark of the tree with a machete, while holding him with his head down. As he scratches, the boy collects pieces of bark in a plate. These pieces, taken back to the village, are used to prepare an infusion which the patient drinks. In case this remedy fails another is made: an infusion of a chopped herb (eyele nzum) is poured into the mouth of the woman in labor by a child perched on the roof of the hut; just above the woman the child has pierced a hole, into which the infusion flows through a hollow banana stalk. When neither of these two medicines has worked, there is a last one which is used in an unusual way, but which, our informants say, is always crowned with success. The invalid eats a paste made of mashed pumpkin, an herb (manden makwe), and a small snail (nson akwe), cooked with salt in leaves. It is very rare, however, that recourse must be had to any of these three medicines. During the entire period of the confinement, at which only women are allowed to be present, the husband stays outside the door of the hut.

844 Immediately after the delivery, the woman called mbyale takes the child and [82] cuts the cord (dol) about 10 centimeters from the abdomen with a piece of bamboo shaped in the form of a knife. The portion removed (ngoe mon) is buried under a banana tree, whose fruit is reserved strictly for men. Then the spot where the delivery took place is cleared of the leaves and washed; at the same time the child is bathed in cold water and laid on a fresh banana leaf. It must spend one night before taking the breast for the first time, and until then nothing is given it to drink.

The placenta (kum) is removed and wrapped in banana leaves in a package which is hidden in the brush. The young mother must not

241 [824] 1. The Boulou call cotton *sut* and kapok *sut duma*; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 242 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

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1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1) and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull;
[778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye-
[386] ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

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[177] 1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[924] The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

212 Largeau /sic/) and the *mekutu alelé*, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, *ntilan*, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, *mindem*. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the *abia* game, a kind of 524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces 787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in 824 the forest (*Tetrapleura* /125/ *thonningii*, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the *beyia bia*. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, 304 each family had its own *ndem*, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, *ndan*, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, *minlañ*, songs, *bia*, and chronicles, *minkañete*.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of *kul*), the earth tortoise (*Cinyxis erosa*), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its princi- 825 pal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abôp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances: they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still *beyia bia* competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the *mvet* (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

779 782 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508].

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

779 782 783 [824] In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombieṅ, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[412] 1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.

783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
●[824] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his
umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting; nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave
penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[834] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the
fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
779 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
785 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days,
821 let us say a lunar quarter, alôñ ngon; the last quarter is usually
chosen (métè méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

4

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
● 824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say
the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male
genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed
to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
304 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big
779 dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits
of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially
for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
413 knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very
rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekolokôn.

884 779 411 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

a) The ceremony

766 779 622 A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyôn or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

622 779 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

[824 778] The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfirfira, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck
into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which
[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas
usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm.
When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri
on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér
to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the
boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having
danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again,
opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them
on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he
places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There
is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief
then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate
ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the
skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family
totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan
totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his
father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting
of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an
invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down
through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce
a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song
express this idea quite clearly:

[342 124] 1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo,, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a
distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller
clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

782 As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the
sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in
at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral
skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the
warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by
his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
●[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside
the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood.
[787] At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks,
it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the
wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be
followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I
therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and
totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to
the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described.
To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
● [824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc,
the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is
also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs,
and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village,
then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia
antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be
abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and
immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along
with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles
ought to come from the old village, having issued from those
which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of
fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Mean-
while the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will
certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved
in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following
year.

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1) [824 778]

(1) Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being. [[illegible]]

851 847 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected 553 with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

(1) See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially
for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half
and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds
● 824 are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest
gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for
[757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the
musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is
used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to
protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and
small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths,
point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The
825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and
forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth
are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they
are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed
as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls
[410] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor)
763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause
787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches
eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and
then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I
342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread
734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When
proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but
they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new
185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread
186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang
living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers,
and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never
appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man"
as possesses the young Mpóngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised
531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The
natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The
few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men
and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea
whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily.
[322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native
knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an
imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain [777] peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all [824] day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emanega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm.

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm 754 others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine."

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

Ekhaneong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a 754 palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He 578 calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 626

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment.

Nge me bë jam dili, nge me te mimbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Ami ge mimbim mia, yinga me bot (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ekhómede* (a curse).

Eong s'ayage (a curse that kills).